00232

1971/12/06



TELEGRAM

CONFIDENT AL 155

PAGE 81 USUN N 04797 01 OF 82 0619472

41 ACTICH 10-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-08 EA-11 EUR-14 NEA-09 RSC-01 ACDA-19

GAC-01 E-11 ORM-03 SR-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02

IMR-06 L-03 NSAE-06 VSC-16 P-03 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12

RSR-01 /159 W

128943

R Ø61709Z DEC 71
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WAHSDC 9444
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY NATO
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USDEL SALT VI

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4797

SUBJ: PRC IN 26TH GA: THREE WEEKS DOWN & THREE TO GO

I. SUMMARY: REVIEW OF PRC DELEGATION'S STATEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES THROUGH DECEMBER 3 IN NEW YORK SHOWS CHINESE HAVE APPROACHED ISSUES CONSERVATIVELY, GENERALLY HAINTAINING OPTIONS WHILE CONTINUING TO SHOPE UP IDENTITY WITH THIRD

WCRLD. ALTHOUGH ENERGETICALLY SFEKING EDUCATE SELVES AND GIVING IMPRESSION OF ACTIVITY, CHINESE FOR MOST PART HAVE AVCIDED BOTH COMMITTEES AND COMMITMENTS. DURING FIRST THREE WEEKS OF PRESENCE, HOWEVER, IN AT LEAST TWO INSTANCES THEY HAVE FELT REACTION OF OTHERS TO THEIR INTERVENTIONS IN UN! MODIFYING PROCESS OF GIVE-AND-TAKE HAS REGUN. IN REMAINING THREE WEEKS OF RETH UNGA, CHINESE ARE FACED WITH MEED TO TAKE POSITIONS ON VARIETY OF ISSUES WHICH SHOULD PROVIDE USEFUL CLUES TO LONG-TERM

Declassified/Released on 10 27 95
under provisions of E.O. 12958
y J. Saunders, National Security Council

(5)



CONETOENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 04797 01 0F 02 0619472

IMPACT OF THEIR PRESENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE FULL PRO DELEGATION ARRIVED NOVEMBER 11. CHINESE HAVE MADE THIRTEEN PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN UN BODIES, PLUS MAKING AIRPORT ARRIVAL STATEMENT AND CIRCULATING TEXT OF EARLIER STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT. PRO STATEMENTS (PREVIOUSLY REPORTED SEPTELS - NOTAL) HAVE PEEN PUT ON RECORD HERE ON FOLLOWING OCCASIONS:

(A) NOVEMBER II: CHIAD KUAN-HUA ARRIVAL STATEMENT, INCLUDING REFERENCE TO FIVE PRINCIPLES AND TO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLES OF CHINA AND US.

(B) MOVEMBER IS: INAUGURAL PLEMARY ADDRESS, A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT WHICH, MOREVER, DID PULL PUNCHES ON ISSUES INVOLVING JAPAN AND SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS UNITED STATES.

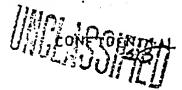
IC1 MOVEMBER 16: BRIEF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF WELCOME IN SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE INCLUDED MODEST ALLUSION TO CHINESE UNFAMILIARITY WITH UN PROCEDURES. A THEME REPEATED IN MEETINGS WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS AND WITH PRESS.

(D) NOVEMBER 16: EXPLANATION OF FAVORABLE PLENARY VOTE ON RHODESIAN CHROME RESOLUTION, WHOIH CRITICISED THE UNITED STATES LEGISLATIVE MOVES. PRO EXPLICITLY RESERVED POSITION ON OTHER RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO IN RESOLUTION VOTED UPOM.

(E) MOVEMBER 16: RESPONSE TO WELCOME IN FIRST COMMITTEE, AGAIN STATING CHINESE NEED TO LEARN ABOUT WORKINGS OF UNITED NATIONS.

(F) MOVEMBER 19: INTERVENTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF NEW ZEALAND-DUTCH RESOLUTION ON PAKISTAN REFUGEES. IN ADDITION TO BLAMING EAST PAKISTAN PROBLEM WHOLLY ON INDIA (WITHOUT MENTIONING INDIA BY NAME), ALSO PESUFRECTED QUESTION OF INDIAN SUPPORT FOR REBELLION AND SUBVEPSION IN TIBET, RELATING TIBET REFUGEES TO EAST PAKISTANI REFUGEES.

(G) NOVEMBER 19: DISPUTE WITH SAUDI ARABIA
REPPESENTATIVE BARGODY DURING FIRST COMMITTEE DISARMAMENT
DEBATE. PRC DELEGATE AN CHIH-YUAN, WHILE HIS SENIOR CH'EN
CH'U TEMPORABILY ABSENT, MADE MISTAKE (WHICH MORE SEASONED
DELEGATES WOULD HAVE AVOIDED) OF TANGLING WITH BARGODY IN
REPLY TO SAUDI ARABIAN CRITICISM OF PRC NUCLEAR TEST.
EXCHANGE CONCLUDED ONLY WHEN CH'EN TOOK OVER FROM AN TO
SOFTEN AN'S EARLIER DENOUNCEMENT OF BARGODY'S CRITICISM.





Depa nt of State

TELEGRAN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE #3 (ISUH N 24797 #1 OF #2 0619472

(H) MOVEMBER 22: STATEMENT DURING SECURITY COUNCIL SANCTIONS COMMITTEE'S DISCUSSION OF UNITED STATES LEGIS-LATION ON RHODESIAN CHROME. PRC COMMENTS, WHILE CRITICAL OF US BECAUSE OF APPARENT CONTRADICTION ON CHROME, WERE MILD, AND ERINCIPAL FUNCTION SERMED TO PE TO RECORD PRC ON ANTI-COLOMIA: SIDE.

(II MOVEMBER 23: INAUGURAL STATEMENT IN SECURITY COUNCIL. FNDORSED SECURITY COUNCIL'S CHAPTER RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND SEPOSING AGGRESSION: DID NOT MENTION ROLE AS PERMANENT MENTER. IDENTIFYING PROWITH SMALLER AND AGGRIEVED COUNTRIES.

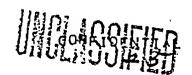
(J) NOVEMBER 24: PRC CIRCULATED, THPOUGH UN CHANNELS, JULY 32TH RESPONSE TO USSR JUNE 15 PROPOSAL TO CONVENE FIVE-POWER NUCLEAR CONFERENCE.

(K) MOVEMBER 24: PLEMARY STATEMENT CPPOSING SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR WOPLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE: REITERATED PRO POSITIONS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA, PALESTINIAN AND COLONIAL DUESTIONS, IN ADDITION TO ADDRESSING DISAPMAMENT ISSUES: CHIAG CONCLUSED STATEMENT WITH PROPOSAL THAT SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION ON MOC NOT BE BUT TO VOTE AT THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

(1) MOVEMBER 26: PLENARY STATEMENT, EXERCISING RIGHT OF PEPLY TO MALIK'S RESPONSE TO CHIAO'S NOVEMBER 24TH STATEMENT ON WDC. IN THIS INSTANCE, CHIAO ATTACKED SOVIETS IN HIGHLY DRAMATIC AND PERSONALIZED MANNER AND INSERTED CRITICISM OF SOVIETS FOR ROLE IN INDIA. CHIAO ADVANCED PRO'S ANTI-WDC POSITION ONE STEP BY STATING CATEGORICALLY THAT PRO WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY VOTE ON SOVIET RESOLUTION AND WOULD ASSUME NO OBLIGATION AS RESULT OF VOTE.

(M) NOVEMBER 30: BRIEF STATEMENT IN SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE DEBATE ON UNRWA. BLAMED PALESTINIAN PROBLEM ON ISPAEL AND UNITED STATES IN LANGUAGE DRAWN HEAVILY FROM NOVEMBER 15TH INAUGUPAL STATEMENT.

(N) NOVEMBER 32: STATEMENT ON GUINEA IN SECURITY COUNCIL, OFFERING PRO-FORMA TOTAL SUPPORT FOR GUINEA AND CRITICISM OF IMPERIALISTS! EFFORTS TO STIFLE NATIONAL LIPERATION MOVEMENT.





TEEGO

CONFIDENTIAL 090

PAGE 01 USUN N 24797 02 00 82 0620182

46 ACTION 10-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-08 EA-11 EUR-14 NEA-09 RSC-01 ACDA-19

GAC-01 E-11 SR-02 ORM-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-06 H-02

INR-06 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-23 PRS-01 SS-14 USIA-12

RSR-01 /159 W

129127

R Z61709Z DEC 71
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9445
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOWYO
AMEMBASSY NATO
AMEMBASSY NATO
AMEMBASSY NATO
USDEL SELT VI

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 4797

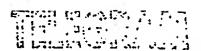
SUBJECTED IN SOTH GAI THREE WEEKS DOWN & THREE TO GO

2. CHINFSE ON AT LEAST TWO OF AROVE-LISTED OCCASIONS HAVE TAKEN ACTIONS THAT THEY MAY WISH IN RETROSPECT THEY HAR NOT. DELEGATIONS! KNEE-JERK REACTION MILD BARRORY CRITICISM IN FIRST COMMITTEE MOVEMBER 19 WOULD JUSTIFY MINDE REGRET. BARRORY FIGURED ALSO IN THE MORE SERICUS INSTANCE. CHINESE CANNOT HELP BUT HAVE BEEN SENGITIVE TO FACT THAT GARRODY, FOLLOWING MOVEMBER 26 COMPLETION OF VITRIBLIC MALIK-CHIAD EXCHANGE, RECEIVED NOT LEVALLY ACCORDED APPLAUSE FOR HIS CHASTISEMENT OF BOTH CELGATES FOR ARUSING ON FORUM FOR BIG-POWER AND IDECLOGICAL ENDS. PRC WILLINGNESS TO SUBJECT THE GA TO THIS TYPE OF ATTACK, DIVERTING A DISARMAMENT PLENARY TO MARROW GREAT-POWER CONFLICT, APPARENTLY HAS HAD STRONG IMPACT ON SMALLER DELGATIONS. DURING SUBSEQUENT DIS-

Declassified/Released on 27 95
under provisions of E.O. 12958
7 J. Saunders, National Security Council

GONA GENTIA





CONFIDENTIAL

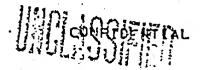
PAGE 82 USUN N 04797 02 OF 22 2520132

ARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS IN CORRIDORS AND THEOLOGH OTHER CHANNELS, WE HAVE HAD INDISPUTABLE SIGNS THAT DELEGATIONS, AS DIRECT RESULT OF NOVEMBER 26 SPECTACLE, ARE HAVING SOME SECOND AND SOBER THOUGHTS ABOUT PENALITIES UN MAY HAVE TO MAY FOR PRO PRESENCE. (IMPLICATIONS FOR MY OF SINCHOUNTER ARE SUBJECT OF SEPTEL.) IN ADDITION THESE ARE SOME INDICATIONS PRO FAY "DESPITE

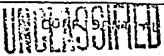
NOVEMBER 26 PROMISE TO CONTRARY, END UP FARTICIPATING IN ACTION ON SOVIET OF SUBSTITUTE SMALL-FORER MOC PROPOSAL. THIS IS EXAMPLE OF UN PRESSURES REQUIRING PRODUSTMENT.

3. DESPITE FREQUENT CHINESE PROTESTATIONS - BOTH IN FORMAL STATEMENTS AND IN CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESS AND WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS - THAT THEY ARE IN PERIOD OF LEARNING, PRODELEGATION HAS LEFT UN WITH NO DOUBT THAT THE NEW BOYS HAVE ARRIVED AND PLAN TO MAKE THEIR PRESENCE FELT. THIS IMPRESSION HAS BEEN FORTIFIED BY COMPREHENSIVE INAUGURAL STATEMENT, REGULAR APPEARANCES IN PLENARY AND SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, DRAMATIC INTERVENTION IN THIRD COMMITTEE AND WOO EXCHANGE WITH SOVIETS, ALL OF WHICH HAVE BEEN COMMINED WITH VISIBILITY IN CORPINORS, CALLS ON OTHER DELEGATIONS, ACCESSIBILITY TO PRESS AND TENTATIVE FIRST SOCIAL APPEARANCES.

4. VEVENTHELESS, CHINESE HAVE STILL NOT PARTICIPATED IN WORK OF SECOND (ECOSOC), FOURTH (TRUSTRESHIP), FIFTH (ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY) OR SIXTH (LEGAL) COMMITTES, NOR HAVE CHINESE DELEGATES OR STAFE APPEARED IN THESE COMMITTEE, CHINESE HAVE APPARENTLY REFN CONSULTING INFORMALLY WITH OTHER MEMBER-DELEGATES). OF THREE-MEETINGS OF GANCTIONS COMMITTEE OF SECURITY COUNCIL THEY HAVE ONLY ATTENDED ONE, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE INFORMED HOWEVER, THEY HAVE BEEN PRESENT AT EVERY MEETING AND HAVE PARTICIPATED FULLY IN PRIVATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT. WITH SYCEPTICM OF WOO AND INDIA-PAKISTAN, CHINESE APPEAR NOT TO MAVE REDKEN ANY NEW POLICY GROUND. THEY HAVE AVOIDED COMMITTING SELVES





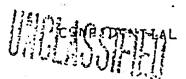


PAGE 63 US' : 12 74797 02 OF 82 0620182

ON NOTHER DISARMAMENT ISSUES, ON QUESTION OF SYG SUCCESSION, ON UN FILANCING, STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, LAW OF THE SEA AND OTHERS.

ALTHOUGH THEY INSISTED ON ELECTION TO ECOSOC AND ASKED FOR SEAT ON ACVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTONS LACARD) (WHERE REPRESENTATIVES SIT IN "EXPERT" CAPACITY), THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT, WITH DELEGATION'S SINGLE FINANCIAL/ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERT ALREADY STING PLACED ON ACABO, THEY DO NOT MANT TO SERVE ON COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS THIS YEAR. THEY HAVE NOT YET RESPONDED TO INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN PRACE/KEPING COMMITTEE THEY HAVE DECLINED PUT FORWARD CANDIDATE FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION AND THEY ARE HOLDING OFF ON MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE. THERE ARE HOST OF UN UPITS WHERE THEY COULD BE INCLUDED IF THEY DESIRED.

5. CHINESE HAVE TIRELESSLY SOUGHT ADVICE OF FECRETARIAT (IN CONTRAST TO SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS) AND ADVICE OF OTHER DELGATIONS (SMOKING OUT CTHERS! ATTITUDES IN THE PROCESS! AND LISTENED CAREFULLY TO EVERYONE. BUT THEY HAVE FOR WOST PART RESPRIED THEIR POSITIONS. FVEN IF THEY SO TERIRE, HOWEVER, THEY ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO GET THROUGH SATH GA WITHOUT TAKING POSITIONS ON SOME OF REMAINING ITEMS. MIDEAST DEPATE, WHICH SCHEDINGES LAST THROUGH MOST OF VEXT EEK, WILL BE DIRRICULT TO STAY ALPOF FROM IN VIEW OF DEEP SOVIET INVOLVEMENT AND OF IMPORTANCE TO ARABS. POSITION ON BROADER MIDDLE EAST GUESTIONS WILL BE MUCH MORE TRICKY THAM PROBLEM PRESENTED BY UNRWA DEBATE WHICH THEY ENTERED WITHOUT COST. CHIMESE WILL HAVE TO TAKE POSITION SOON ON SUCCESSOR TO SYG OR FIND THEMSELVES, WITH OTHER REPMANEUT MEMAGES, TARGET OF SMALL+COUNTRY CRITICISMS FOR DELAY. TEST BAN RESOLUTIONS WILL POSE RERIGHS PROFLERS FOR PAG. CHINESE WILL PE CONFRONTED, PARTICULARLY AS MEMBERS OF THE ACABO, WITH NEED TO SHOW THEIR HAND ON CIRITICAL ON FINANCING QUESTIONS, IF THE EAST PARTSTAN QUESTION COMES TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR ACTION THE PRO WILL FIND IT MORE DIFFICULT TO ARPIVE AT A SATISFACTORY POSITION THAN IT WAS SIMPLY TO BEAST INDIAN POSITION AS THEY GID THIRD COMMITTEE 15-AHI OF PAKISTAN SERMS TO BE ON PARTICULABLY CLOSE ISAMS WITH PRO DELECATIONS . CARRUS ISSUE! ON WHICH SYG RECOMMENDS GREATER SECURITY COUNCIL INVOLVEMENT, WILL





CUNFIDENTIAL

PAGE 64 USUN N 24797 02 DF 32 0620187

ADD TO COMPLICATIONS OF UN PARTICIPATION.

6. AS THIRD MEEK'S ACTIVITY ENDS AND WITH EQUAL PERIOD REMAINING UNTIL CLOSE OF 26TH GA, CHINESE, HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO THEIR MEOPHYTE STATUS, HAVE MANAGED TO KEER MOST BUT NOT ALL OPTIONS OPEN ALTHOUGH MOD DEBATE INDICATED THAT SINO-SOVIET ANTAGONISM WOULD BE IMPORTANT FACTOR. HOWEVER, PROCESS OF UN GIVE-AND- TAKE HAS REGIN, AND WILL INTENSIFY DURING REMAINDER OF SESSION. CHINESE ARE GOING TO BE FEELING THE SQUEEZE PRODUCED BY PRACTICAL PARLIAMENTARY PRESSURES. THEY UNDOURTEDLY, LIKE CURSELVES, WILL BE RELIEVED WHEN THE FINAL GAVEL GOES DOWN. GP-3.

MILASSIFIER